

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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## DOUGLAS ROGERS reports on the forthcoming Gold Coast Elections

OUR car roared through the velvet African night, strong headlights picking out the curving, bumpy, pot-holed road. At one moment you were bounced clean off your seat, the next you were plunging straight towards the dense forest as the road curved suddenly.

Only an African driver could have got you round such a corner with a dexterous flick of the steering wheel. Only an African driver, in any case, would have negotiated such roads at 80 mph.

This is a country where everyone drives at speed and just does not understand if you complain about it. That, they believe, is what a car is for—to get you quickly from one place to another.

You drive with your hooter and when you reach the villages which are strung spasmodically along every road you keep the hooter down permanently and hope that people, goats, chickens, will scatter out of the way in time. No one complains.

### SONGS OF FREEDOM

We came out of the forest and into one village where we had to stop. The whole street was blocked with several hundreds of singing, dancing, cheering, laughing people. Along the roadside kerosene lamps and candles flickered, casting a fairy-like glow.

In the middle of this excited throng, was a red, white and green painted election van of the Convention People's Party, a huge loud-speaker on its roof.

Music blared—subtly pulsating African music and the people danced; slow snake-like movements of hips and waists, rhythmically staccato slow sliding of the feet. And they sang—political songs, songs of freedom and the good life they hoped for, a sort of West African version of the calypso.

From time to time the music paused for a moment and political slogans were shouted. The cry "Freedom" rang out and a forest of hands shot into the air, palms outstretched in the Convention People's Party (CPP) salute. "Free-dom! Free-dom! Free-dom!"—the emphasis on the second syllable.

We got out of the car and were surrounded by the crowd. "Freedom," we shouted, a little self-consciously, and raised our hands. "Free-dom! Free-dom!"

We were surrounded and swept away in a current of people, men, women and children, who grasped our hands and laughed and cheered at the white folk in the car with the Red Cockerel, the CPP election symbol. There could not have been a single one of the sun-baked red-earth houses in the village which did not bear a little poster with the Red Cockerel.

### HAPPY PEOPLE

This is how the General Election has come to hundreds of villages throughout this country, a festival of singing and dancing and corporate excitement.

This is not to suggest that the people do not understand the issues in the election. Politics here is rooted in the people's lives. It is simultaneously a protest against foreign rule and against social conditions which they associate with foreign rule.

And the singing and dancing which emerges spontaneously at every political rally is an assertion of their rights as Africans.

The dancing is in the blood. You meet it everywhere. People dance, with or without music, naturally, spontaneously.

When a woman feels happy, she dances, in front of her house, in the street, wherever she happens to be.

And the people are happy in this election; they believe it is the prelude to independence this year and "Independence 1956" (which the CPP has adopted for its slogan) is more than a phrase; it is a deep psychological need; if it does not come the reaction of frustration will be explosive.

No where in England have I seen anything comparable to the rally in Accra when the CPP launched its election campaign. More than 100,000 people filled the park where it was held. Thousands more crowded the streets outside. Trees were black with human figures.

### KWAME NKRUMAH

Three African bands were there and again the people danced. This music and dancing— which the people take for granted—would shame many a West End theatre.

Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister and

# HOW BRITAIN COULD DISARM

War Office would close. New ministries deal with economic adjustment and world aid

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

HOW would Britain close down her War Office, Air Ministry, Admiralty, and Defence Ministry should public opinion favour a policy of unilateral disarmament and an ending of the arms burden at present amounting to £1,400,000,000 or £28 per head per annum?

This question is being closely studied in London by members of the principal pacifist organisations and Members of Parliament.

The subject is known to be one in which a growing number of people are interested and there are indications that many would rally to support a clear programme of legislation designed to wind up Britain's armed forces and to use the resources made available to make Britain the leading moral power in the world.

Peace News understands that MPs who have studied the question believe that the necessary legislation for disarmament and the demobilisation of Britain's armed forces could be put through by a Government wishing to do so within three years and thus be dealt with during the life-time of a single Parliament.

But to make it clear to the people of Britain and to the world that the country was not merely making arms cuts it would be necessary to carry through a number of dramatic changes in policy within a month of the announcement that Britain was disarming.

### IMMEDIATE STEPS

Among the changes which have been suggested are:

1. The immediate stopping of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the stopping of tests.
2. The transfer of nuclear and atomic weapon materials to industrial use.
3. The repeal of the Military Service Act, ending of the call-up and the release of all National Servicemen wishing to resume their pre-service positions or to be discharged for other reasons.
4. The ending of recruitment to the forces.
5. The recall of all spies and other secret service agents.
6. The closing down of the Admiralty and the War, Air and Defence Ministries. New ministries to be set up to deal with economic adjustment, re-absorption of labour, and with international aid.
7. The formation of a volunteer corps of technicians, skilled mechanics, teachers and labourers to be available for service both at home and abroad in areas damaged by flood, earthquake or other natural catastrophes or for projects in underdeveloped countries.
8. An invitation to the United Nations to appoint observers who would give on-the-spot reports on British disarmament.

Peace News understands that such proposals as the above, and many others dealing with Britain's emergence as a great moral power instead of a great military power in decline, are being considered by the Working Party appointed by the Standing Joint Committee of pacifist organisations.

As reported in Peace News on June 29 the Working Party are to "prepare proposals for the unilateral disarmament of Britain."

A vigorous debate, sparked by the recent "Objective Peace" demonstration at Aylesbury, is proceeding in the columns of the Bucks Herald. Press correspondence also resulted from a similar demonstration in Oxford.

## PACIFISM AND THE POLICE

By

Sybil Morrison

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## Kenya churchmen urge Parliamentary delegation Quaker support for Eileen Fletcher

SIX church leaders in Kenya have called for a visit by an investigating parliamentary delegation, similar to that which visited Kenya two and a half years ago, headed by Mr. Walter Elliot, MP.

They are: The Rt. Rev. Leonard Beecher, The Bishop of Mombasa; Archdeacon Peter Bostock, Vicar-General, Mombasa Diocese; Rev. R. G. M. Calderwood; Rev. David Steel, Moderator and Clerk to the General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of East Africa; Rev. F. W. Vallender, Acting Superintendent, Methodist Church; and Colonel W. G. Eller, territorial commander of the Salvation Army in East Africa.

Recalling the rehabilitation work being undertaken by the churches, they point out that "in the course of all this work the Church has from time to time become aware of certain abuse, and of other matters needing correction... and we have not hesitated to make representations to the Government."

"As a result of representations made at various levels, action has been taken on most matters, and there has been an improvement. In some cases progress has been slow and the Government has not always agreed to our suggestions to the degree that we would have wished."

"We are agreed," they continued, "that in order to remove the uneasiness felt by many regarding conditions in Kenya, to clarify the situation, and to assist in the return to normal

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## 'Election issue independence'—NKRUMAH

leader of the Convention People's Party, is an astonishing political leader; a shrewd, political thinker, a national idol, and as simple a man as you could ever meet. He was carried to the platform head-high amidst a thunder of cheers and shouts. People jumped and clapped their hands.

After the rally he was just taken possession of, borne away in a chair and carried precariously high through packed streets in another fantastic jubilant procession.

Three days later there was a similar demonstration when he was officially introduced to his constituents. These rallies are called with hardly any advertising—just an announcement in the Evening News, the Party organ.

### UP TO THE PEOPLE

Nkrumah is entirely unspoilt by this incredible popularity. He is still "one of the boys," always approachable, interested in everything. Every day he makes a call at the CPP headquarters to see how things are going. Anyone can have access to him.

On the public platforms he sits modestly in the background (unless he rises to acknowledge applause which he does with a broad, unaffected, happy grin).

The platforms are always crowded with party members; frequently Nkrumah will be sharing his chair, if it has arms, with three or four others.

He is absolutely calm—fatalistic—about this General Election, which has been forced on the country by the National Liberation Movement (NLM) agitation.

I saw him in his Prime Minister's office shortly before the campaign. "We have done our best," he said. "Now the people must decide whether they want us to carry on."

## Brockway replies to "misleading" charge

The Observer on July 8 published in a prominent position on page one an article from Cyril Dunn, dated Serowe, concerning the reports of brutalities in Bechuanaland.

Mr. Dunn declared that most of the charges of brutalities, as the flogging of women and children, chaining persons to steel bars and lion traps, etc., are true, but that one should not blame the British-appointed Native Authority, Rasebholai, because such punishments are in accordance with tribal customs.

The article mistakenly stated that questions in the House of Commons about these brutalities were "inspired by reports published in South African and English newspapers." Mr. Fenner Brockway's questions, however, were based on a document signed by 49 leading members of the Banningwato Tribe prepared by their South African attorneys, and other documents and letters.

These documents also formed the basis of the exclusive Peace News articles.

Mr. Dunn's charge that the stir over these brutalities appears to be "a deliberate attempt to stir up tribal dissension by questionable means," therefore was completely lacking in foundation.

Fenner Brockway writes:

MR. CYRIL DUNN admits that the questions which have been put in the House of Commons have led to the prohibition of the whipping of women and children in public.

This is a considerable step forward. I do not claim that all the brutalities which have been exposed in the Peace News articles and which have formed the subject of my questions in the House of Commons arise solely from the fact that Seretse Khama has been exiled.

They are to some extent relics from the past. But I do say that they have been intensified by the fact that it has been necessary to appoint headmen and sub-chiefs from a minority of the tribe because the great majority have declined to co-operate with the British administration until Seretse is allowed to return.

### Democratic influence

This limitation of choice has had two results:

1. Men have been selected for these posts without the necessary impartiality and self-discipline which responsible officers ought to have. They have therefore been guilty sometimes of excesses.
2. They act in an atmosphere where they are regarded with suspicion and perhaps animosity as stooges of the British administration. In this state of tension they are apt to resort to methods which they would not adopt in a more harmonious atmosphere.

One of the strongest reasons why Seretse Khama should be allowed to return is that he would contribute democratic and civilised influences to the administration of Bechuanaland and would eliminate the brutal practices which the Peace News articles have exposed.

For example, it is appalling that prisoners have to be chained to poles and to lion traps because there is no accommodation for them before trial.

Seretse Khama would not allow that to continue for a month.

It is a severe indictment of British administration that these shocking practices have been allowed to go on and that no steps were taken to change them until these barbarities were raised in the House of Commons.

Seretse in exile; appointee has all powers of chief—page three.

The Peace News articles on Bechuanaland are now available in pamphlet form with a preface by Seretse Khama and a foreword by Fenner Brockway, MP. See page four.

## Protest on secret police

MANY personalities well-known in the British peace movement are supporting a "Campaign for the Limitation of Secret Police Powers," which will be inaugurated at a public meeting in London next week.

Speakers at the meeting to be held in the Caxton Hall next Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. include J. B. Priestley, Benn Levy and three MPs, Aneurin Bevan, Will Griffiths and Joseph Grimmond.

Mr. Benn Levy told Peace News on Tuesday that those supporting the campaign would be considering a number of specific safeguards for individual liberties.

Among others supporting the campaign are E. C. Redhead, MP (Lab.), Fenner Brockway, MP (Lab.), Ritchie Calder, Lord Chorley and Stansgate, and Ormsby Gore, MP (Con.).

### CO's Sentence halved

TWO more conscientious objectors in Britain have appealed against jail sentences of twelve months. One appeal was dismissed, but in the other case the sentence has been halved.

Full report next week

## Clifford Macquire joins PN board

THE Rev. Clifford H. Macquire has become a director of Peace News Ltd., the non-profit-making company which owns Peace News.

Well-known as General Secretary of the British Fellowship of Reconciliation, Clifford Macquire is also a member of the National Peace Council.

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# PEACE NEWS

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## THOU SHALT NOT KILL

**T**HE French thinker, Albert Camus, some years ago urged that a reasonable Utopia was a world society in which murder is not legitimate (not in which murder does not occur, an absurd hope) but in which murder as a means to ends is held to be unworthy.

Against this modest Utopian conception, he set the much more extravagant Utopias of the Communist and the Capitalist ideologies.

They were, he said, "both based on the idea of progress, both certain that the application of their principles must inevitably bring about a harmonious society," and both having such a complete confidence in the millennial character of their remedies for men's ills, that, if need be, they are prepared to condone the killing, deportation, imprisonment, and the moral destruction of men through fear, as necessary means to achieving the goals.

The state of the world today is largely a consequence of the ruthlessness of those who have sought men's welfare and have been so convinced that both their remedy and the means to its application are right, that in order to attain those ends they are prepared to kill, to torture, to reduce men to penury, to lie, cheat, and deceive.

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**WE** have to face the fact that the strength of these ruthless ones is largely to be found in our own weaknesses, our own deficiency in moral force.

We are able to see the evil things—i.e., what the Communists have condoned, as now admitted by themselves—but we know that as individuals most persons attracted to the Communist conception of action were not bad men.

On the contrary, making the necessary allowance for exceptions (for methods that accept as a political necessity the degradation of men must attract a quota of the merely depraved) the men attracted to Communism on the whole are as individuals exceptionally worthy people.

They have entered political activity because of a strongly developed social sense.

Becoming Communists, however, they have accepted that the means to social advance must be war, operating through "terror."

Thus the denial of the validity of normal moral conceptions—taken for granted in war—is accepted as a necessary method of social change.

The use of evil means then corrupts society even more profoundly than does the abandonment of normal moral values in international warfare.

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**WE** all have to take our share of the blame for the crimes of Communism.

The same errors of those who become Communists are committed by those who hold the weak liberal conceptions of politics, by Christians who in their moral reaction against social ills fail to grant social justice or give economic content to freedom, by those who fail to offer alternative methods of social struggle that eschew murder, and who fail to put such peaceful alternative methods into action.

If it is accepted that any human problem can be solved by war, there is one aim that dominates all.

In the face of it, all moral inhibitions, all moral values, cease to count. That aim is victory. In class war, as in war between nations, death to the enemy—or "liquidation" to use the Communist term—having become the chief means to the desired end, there is nothing too vile to be committed, if it helps in destroying the enemy.

Such acts can always be represented as a lesser evil, compared with something that otherwise might have happened.

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**I**N war, we overcome our moral repugnance in the face of lying, cheating, the blackguardly aspects of the thuggery of Commando operations that we avoid scrutinising too closely, and also the monstrously inhuman connotations of "saturation bombing."

In the social war fought on Communist lines there is an equal acceptance of the need for spying, lying, cheating, and the reduction of human beings to a condition of such pitiful abjectness that they can be brought to "confess" whatever is required of them.

In both cases there is the permanent danger of developing monstrous human aberrations, as a Hitler, a Stalin, or a Truman who would not hesitate, given the appropriate circumstances, to decide again to atom bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The conception of Camus for a reasonable Utopia as a world in which murder is not legitimate has become today the only basis upon which a decent society can be built.

Those who have decided that for them "Thou shalt not kill" has an absolute validity have taken a first important personal step into that Utopia.

They need to follow that with the positive steps towards curing the misery in the world that tempts men to condone killing.



**A**FTER a stormy Second Reading in the course of which the Opposition walked out in protest at the Government's handling of the debate, the Conscription Bill has been approved by West Germany's Bundestag.

The Bundesrat, the Second Chamber, only accepted the original Bill after amending the period of conscript service from two years to 18 months.

The Government has evaded the issue by deleting from the present bill any reference to the period of service, which will be the subject of special regulations to be introduced in the Bundestag in October if, as is expected, the Bundesrat endorses the vote of the Lower House on July 20.

### Opposition continues

**A**LTHOUGH approval for the re-introduction of conscription into Western Germany is now a foregone conclusion, there is still doubt as to when and how it will be implemented.

The recent debate has given renewed proof of irreconcilable differences of opinion. While not actually committing the party to repeal the Bill if they are returned to power at the next elections, the leader of the Social Democrats gave a broad hint that that might become their policy.

The Socialist youth organisation "Falken" has already demanded the repeal of the Bill on the ground that in no other country would a measure of such vital consequences have been forced through parliament against the expressed wishes of large sections of the community.

### Programme for unity

**T**HE campaign against conscription will certainly continue and it will be advanced a step further at the congress of the Social Democratic Party which has always contended that the obligations (including conscription) accepted by Western Germany under NATO make reunification impossible.

They have produced a programme as a basis for reunification which includes:

- a guarantee that a reunified Germany should not belong to any major military alliance;
- the rejection of conscription now and in the future and the restriction of German rearmament to 200,000 men;
- the early withdrawal of all Allied forces from Germany; and
- discussion of a trade treaty between the Federal Republic of Western Germany and the Soviet Union, with a prospect of economic co-operation between Russia and a reunited Germany.

The bitterness felt by many about the delay in reunification is expressed in a cartoon in the Frankfurter Rundschau depicting the grave of German unity being dug by a conscript while a weeping Chancellor stands by with a wreath labelled "In Peace."

### Chou's invitation

**T**HE offer of China's Foreign Minister to negotiate peace with Chiang's Government on Formosa follows the crop of trade agreements recently signed with China by Japan, Malaya, Pakistan and Egypt.

For practical purposes the trade embargo has come to an end except

for the United States' most dependent allies.

The Chinese trade exhibition in Cairo this Spring, followed by Egypt's recognition of China in May, caused the withdrawal of Formosa's diplomats and the cancellation of the exhibition being arranged by the Chinese Nationalists in that city.

To overseas Chinese and to the Arab world these happenings are of greater significance than would be withdrawal from Quemoy and Matsu.

Whatever Chiang himself may feel about Chou's offer there are many in his entourage who will find it attractive.

When they could contemplate that a

### Germany China Power blocs Poznan

A new world war might offer them a chance of victory they may have had visions of a future of military glory and political power.

The development of the H-bomb on both sides has made this impossible. They know that they are stuck in a cul-de-sac and there must be many of them who would be glad to make personal terms with the Mao Tse tung regime.

The Chinese Government knows that it can now afford to let the question of Quemoy and Matsu lie in abeyance and just wait on events. We shall hear further pronouncements of this kind from Chou.

### Bevin's nightmare

**W**E recently suggested that in a few years the major problem that the world might have to face could be of a quite different kind from the threat of universal destruction arising from the power struggle and the risky manoeuvrings required to keep a cold war cold.

This was the coming together of the world's two great powers on the basis of an understanding to dispose of the affairs of the lesser peoples in a manner acceptable to them both.

We reminded readers that this was the nightmare to which Ernest Bevin had confessed before the cold war developed; that Russia and America would "gang-up" and that "there will be nothing left for anyone else."

With a peace based, not upon disarmament and new ideas of international relationships, but upon the "H-bomb stalemate" between the US and the USSR, it appears that such a development as Bevin feared is ultimately inevitable.

It is what "co-existence" must lead to sooner or later if it is not to break down in war.

### Russian-American Axis?

**A**LREADY there are political leaders in both blocs who are talking of the need to operate aid for the underdeveloped countries through the machinery of UN in order to eliminate the factor of bloc competition.

At Aachen recently Sir Winston Churchill heavily emphasised his view

that Russia should be invited to enter NATO. When that happens the US will have to choose between co-operation and leaving the NATO structure to Europe.

We think it is clear that the choice will be co-operation, and that this will mean the coming together of the two dominant powers.

The Russian Government has so far taken no action following on Sir Winston Churchill's declaration, but it will be remembered that it has earlier made an application for entry into NATO which was repulsed as a mere manoeuvre.

We think there is a high probability that some time before April, 1959, when the whole structure of NATO will come up for review, this matter will again be raised by Russia and this will become the signal for a fundamental reorientation in the relationships of the Powers.

### Borba, then and now

**T**HE reconciliation of the Yugoslav Government with the Government of Russia is not all pure gain.

When the Tito Government felt itself in isolation it was able to see clearly the character of the operations of other dictatorships to which it has now again become blind.

The Yugoslav Government journal, Borba, wrote after the Berlin visit in June, 1953:

"The masses are profoundly conscious of the treason of their leaders who, instead of constructing Socialism, are in process of erecting a system of exploitation which subordinates them to the USSR. Elsewhere in Europe it is only Franco who deals with his workers in this fashion."

There has been no comparison with Franco in the Yugoslav press, including Borba, after the Poznan troubles. The league of (anti-Fascist) dictators has recovered its solidarity.

### From the Editor's Notebook

#### Frieda Le Pla

**F**RIEDA LA PLA, who writes on nationalism on page four, became blind at the age of 29, and is now blind fifteen years later. She is now blind through the use of a typewriter and a Braille machine she operates with a wide circle of sight and sightless friends, continuing her support for the peace and humanitarian causes in which she was active before she lost her sight.

She is the author of "Vivisection Right or Wrong," a pamphlet published by the Quaker Anti-Vivisection and Humane Society (6d. from Chas. Slater, 31 Gwavas Road, Newbury, Penzance, Cornwall).

#### Disarmament

**ERIC BAKER**, Secretary of the National Peace Council has done a valuable piece of work by preparing a background paper on disarmament negotiations which was adjourned in London on May 4. Originally prepared for the Nations affiliated to the N.P.C., the document has now been published in the current number of One World (ed. from 29 Great James Street, London W.C.1.).

A summary of the Anglo-French-US and USSR working papers submitted to the Sub-Committee on the UN Disarmament Commission for 1956 is included in the paper.

#### Get together—once

**D**IFFERENT as their individual approaches may be, I think it cannot be sufficiently stressed that the pacifists in a town or borough should meet together once a year for a social occasion: Christian Pacifist Peace Pledge Union members, Labour Party and what have you.

A secretary of any one of the pacifist groups who will take on the job of bringing everyone together once a year will be doing much to strengthen the movement in his district. He will find the various national headquarters only too keen to help in putting secretaries and contact members in touch with each other.

But only one social occasion: then back to the job of work which each is tackling in his or her own particular field!

#### Dr. Soper for Labour Peace Rally

**T**HE Labour Peace Fellowship will again hold a public meeting during the Labour Party Conference week this year.

They have booked the Jubilee Theatre, Blackpool for October 1. Dr. Soper is to be one of the speakers.

## Brotherhood clubs in Central Africa

**P**ROBABLY the most slandered of all organisations in Central Africa today are the multi-racial clubs.

There are three in the Federation—one in Northern Rhodesia, one in Southern Rhodesia and one in Nyasaland.

The club in Northern Rhodesia has hit the headlines a couple of times of late.

The first occasion was when the committee agreed to Mr. Harry Nkumbula, number one man of the African Congress, becoming a member.

The committee's decision was unanimous—but what a hoo-ha it created outside the club!

"Disgusting," said the critics. "If the club ever did have any prestige, it is certainly gone now," was the cry.

One newspaper, probably the most liberal in the Federation, went the whole hog and published a special front page editorial condemning the club for allowing Nkumbula to join.

The opinion of most members was that Harry Nkumbula was an intelligent human being, and as such was eligible for membership—whatever his politics.

Nevertheless, one member, Dr. G. Harrison,

### BASIL DELAINE'S CENTRAL AFRICAN COMMENTARY

was very much against the idea and resigned in protest.

The Northern Rhodesia multi-racial club has about 400 members, of which about 100 are Europeans.

In Blantyre, Nyasaland, from where at present this commentary is being written, the Inter-Racial Association is somewhat smaller in membership. But it is making itself heard.

On behalf of the club a letter was sent, recently, to the Government, requesting that it should legislate against racial discrimination.

The reply which, of course, did not satisfy the association, was to the effect that the time was not yet ripe for such a step.

The society will not be leaving it at that.

Belonging to an inter-racial group in this Federation of "partnership" is rather like being a member of an underground organisation.

If you are a European it may be policy not to mention to your boss or colleagues the fact that you belong to such a club.

You see, a multi-racial club is where people with black skins, people with brown skins and people with white skins get together to discuss their problems.

They also get together to enjoy themselves—at sport, or a sing-song, or maybe just a pint of beer at the club bar.

All this, of course, is "just not done" in the eyes of the average white settler.

You are labelled a crank, a kaffir (an African) or a Communist by those who know of your membership.

Your "friends" cease to call on you for a sundowner—and it could mean the sack from your job.

It is true to say, too, that the majority of Africans are against the idea of the multi-racial club.

Their minds have been poisoned by the African Congress which looks upon African members of these clubs as stooges of the European members who, they say, are simply there to convert the African to the ways of the Government.

The recent enrolment of Mr. Harry Nkumbula, the Congress leader, as a member of the N.R. multi-racial club may mean the breaking down of this point of view.

It is all very tragic. It seems that only the Indian members are spared criticism.

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## IF YOU'VE NO TIME, BUT HAVE THE MONEY...



DURING the summer holiday period we want to try a new sales experiment.

We want to employ students, and others seeking holiday work, on full-time door-to-door Peace News selling; paying them £5 a week and travelling expenses.

We also want to give those readers, who for one reason or another are unable to do this kind of work, a chance to share in this scheme by contributing to a special "Street Sellers Fund."

Can you contribute £5—in addition to a contribution to our Forward Fund, which must not be allowed to drop behind in its vital work of meeting our publishing deficit?

Think of it! You will make possible a week of full-time peace activity by young people eager to be up and out on the job.

A double effort this week, please. A contribution to our Forward Fund—and a £5 cheque for our "Street Sellers Fund" if you are one of those who have been waiting for just such an opportunity as this.

### THE EDITOR.

Contributions since June 29: £48 5s. 2d.  
Total since January 1, 1956: £1,178 0s. 7d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: A. Tyke, Driffield, £10; Manningtree, £2; Shipley, 3s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.A.

## For Cyprus solution: Experience in opposing terrorism!

MR. EMRYS HUGHES, MP, a Peace News contributor, asked the Prime Minister on June 28 whether he would discuss the problem of Cyprus with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

Mr. Eden replied it was not the practice to discuss the individual topics for discussion at such a meeting.

Mr. Hughes replied: "Is the Prime Minister not aware that one of the Prime Ministers attending this Conference has had a long and distinguished record in opposing terrorism?"

"Mr. Nehru was for seven years in prison for opposing terrorism."

"Would not the Prime Minister take advantage of the occasion of Mr. Nehru's visit here to get some good advice on solving the question of Cyprus?"

### NEWS IN BRIEF

At Tribunals for Conscientious Objectors in Norway, all religious COs are now being exempted. COs whose objection to military service are based on ethical or rational grounds do not do so well, because, reports Pacifist (the Danish pacifist journal) apparently many have not thought out their position properly.

The visit of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, to the United States of America, which was to begin on July 7, has been postponed at Mr. Nehru's request until Mr. Eisenhower is well enough for full consultations.

The student body of Rawdon Baptist Theological College, Leeds, England, have urged an independent commission of inquiry into "the reports of conditions and happenings in Kenya, conditions which, if proved true, must fill us with shame and horror that things so hateful to the mind of Jesus Christ should be permitted by a people and Government professedly Christian and with a democratic tradition."

## CHRISTIAN RESISTANCE GROUP Little monks of Russia

REPRINTED FROM THE LIFE OF FAITH

AN article recently published in the Norwegian paper Vart Land tells of a spontaneous religious movement that has come into being in Russia, mainly through the reading of the Bible. The followers of this movement call themselves "the Believers," but they have been dubbed Monachki (the little Monks), a nickname which they have gladly accepted.

These Christian youths are said to number several million, and their missionary activities are known all over the country. This movement constitutes the greatest opposition group to the Communist regime in Russia.

It is recruited from all grades of society, but is composed chiefly of students, clerks and shop assistants.

The Monachki have no ritual or ceremonies. Their services are similar to those of the Quakers, consisting of the reading of a passage of Scripture, a short talk, and an application of Christian truths to present-day life. Owing to the scarcity of Bibles in the USSR, a few hand-written copies of the Scriptures are in circulation.

### COURAGEOUS EVANGELISM

This revival movement is said to have begun as a purely Russian activity, without any help or encouragement from outside sources. It finds its inspiration solely in the Bible and the desire to apply the principles of Christianity to everyday life.

The Monachki include a number of conscientious objectors, who without exception are sent to prison camps. The long sentences of imprisonment, however, do not terrify them. They believe in passive resistance, and do not countenance violence in any form; neither do they co-operate with groups that are preparing for a new revolution.

Instead, they advocate strike action, and advise people not to work for the godless State.

The movement has also made contact with the illegal remnants of the Russian Mennonites, Stundists, and other pacifist religious groups.

Many young people are leaving their work and are going out as evangelists to the remotest parts of Russia. There they preach the Gospel among collective labourers and organise special agricultural Christian communities. As a rule such evangelists can carry on for a year or so before being arrested; but even then they continue their activities inside the prison camps. Services are held which many of the prisoners attend, save when forbidden by the guards.

The news of the activities of this spiritual youth movement comes from a 35-year-old German woman, Brigitte Gerland, the first prisoner to escape from the forced labour camp at Vorkuta.

She was banished to this camp together with 8,000 young Christians who had received sentences of from 15 to 25 years for having participated in anti-Communist activities. During the seven years of her imprisonment Frau Gerland was moved from one camp to another—20 different camps in all—and in every one of them she met the Monachki.

## AFRICAN LEADER DENOUNCES CAPRICORN AFRICA SOCIETY

From BASIL DELAINE

Blantyre, Nyasaland.

"Africans in this country cannot exchange colonialism and imperialism for Capricornism."

This is the view of Elected Member of Legislative Council for the Northern Province, Mr. M. W. K. Chume, commenting on the recent Capricorn Africa Society convention at Salima.

"They will not be impressed by catchwords and slogans which at best are political bitter pills coated with linguistic sugar, and at the worst a tricky way of deviating the Africans from realising their right to self-determination for their respective countries," said Mr. Chume.

He stressed that the goal for Africans in Nyasaland "is the achievement of self-government within the Commonwealth."

## South Africa and the Protectorates "ACT BEFORE UNPLEASANTNESS" PLEADS SERETSE

"I AM not dying to become chief," said Seretse Khama in London last month. "All I am fighting for is that I, like anyone else, should be allowed to live in my own country. My people want me to live there and, like anyone else, I feel I have some contribution to make to my people. I don't think that is too much to ask—even from a British Government."

Seretse Khama, Chief of the Bamangwato Tribe who has been banished "for life" by the British Government because of his marriage to an Englishwoman, was speaking at a delegate conference on South Africa and the Protectorates at Beaver Hall in London. The conference was sponsored by the Movement for Colonial Freedom and held last month.

"Ninety-seven per cent of my people want me back," he said.

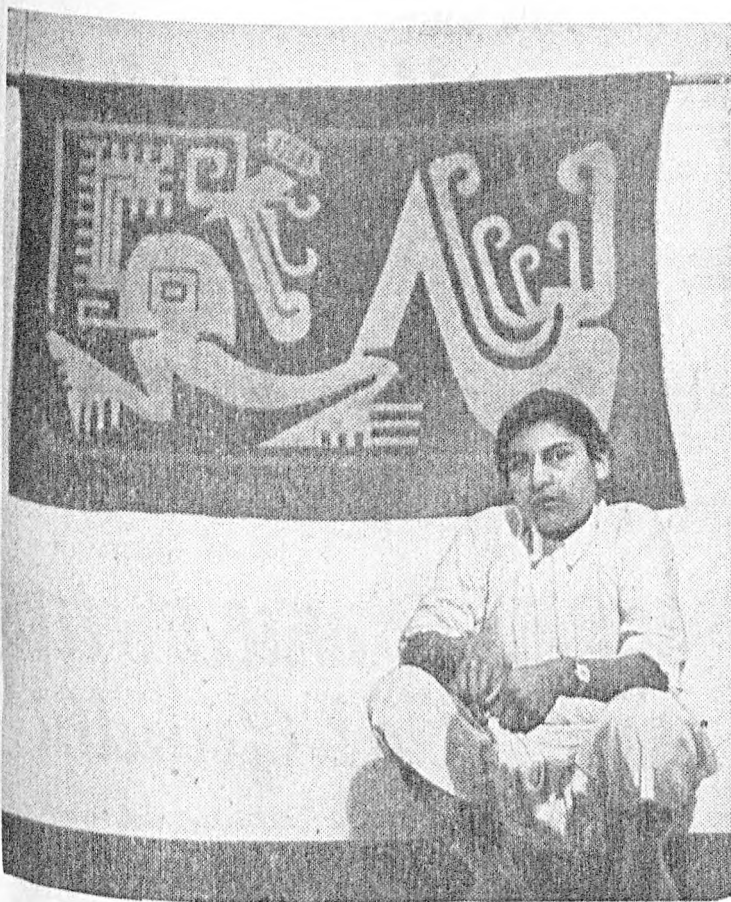
He spoke of how his people had been impressed by good British men who had worked for the good of the African people, such as Mollat, Livingstone, and today, Huddleston. "We wanted to be British," he said. "It is because of these good men that we probably made the mistake of allying ourselves with Britain." (Chiefs from Bechuanaland voluntarily sought to bring their land under British protection in 1885.)

### "Consider people first"

"People here are prepared to live on the memories of those men," he said.

"We are the only people who seem to want to be British and you do not seem to want us," he said. "We gave up the freedom we had to be associated with this country... but what has been the result?"

"The way you have to make friends is first of all to shoot them down and then say, 'Now don't you have some nice leader who wants to



UNATIONS

The Indian hand weavers of Ecuador were finding it hard to compete with the inexpensive cloths being turned out with modern techniques and their ancient handicraft was gradually dying out. With the help of an expert from the International Labour Organisation, the Government set up a school for master weavers where they could learn the new techniques and how to apply them to the weaving of traditional designs. Here a master weaver from Peguche proudly displays a wall-piece he completed at the school under the direction of an ILO expert. The design is Pre-Colombian.

## Barrow Cadbury, Kathleen Lonsdale offer disarmament plan

A WORLD plan for disarmament, based on progressive annual reduction of national arms budgets has been sent to statesmen all over the world by two distinguished British Quakers, Barrow Cadbury and Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, DBE, FRS.

In a signed letter outlining their plan, they write:

"We know that the 'Reduction of Armaments' has been under International consideration for the past forty years, and that several attempts to reach agreement have been made. Each effort has in fact failed, and the failure has always been followed by a vast increase in armaments, as is evident throughout the world today."

"We therefore suggest that the problem is not being approached from the right angle."

"Our strong conviction is that there is one practical working method by which reduction can immediately be started and by which the desired end can be attained, namely on a budgetary basis, unhampered by the detailed, complicated subject of how the money is spent."

"The question of outlay merely concerns Governments whereas it is the taxpayers of the world who have provided the money to meet the phenomenal cost. It therefore appears to be logical that any relief should be apparent

to, and felt in some measure by, those who have paid the bill.

"This would provide a most effective control on disarmament."

"It would probably be the business of the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations, or some such body, to work out the details of a reduction on a budgetary basis, with the help of world accountants of repute."

● ON PAGE FIVE

## Seretse in exile; appointee has all powers of chief

By Gene Sharp

THE British-appointed Native Authority over the Bamangwato Tribe in Bechuanaland, Rasebolai, the British Government says "has been accorded statutory authority to exercise all the powers conferred upon the Chief by law or custom."

This statement was made in a letter to Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP, from Alan Noble of the Commonwealth Relations Office, dated June 27.

He continued, "Rasebolai, the Native Authority is legally empowered to act on behalf of the tribe in this matter" of mineral development.

When Rasebolai was appointed Native Authority it was stated in the House of Commons that this was not to be regarded as a substitute for a Chief.

This revelation has come as the result of a question in the House of Commons by Fenner Brockway, MP, May 14.

Mr. Brockway said he received representations made by leading members of the Bamangwato Tribe in twenty towns and villages asking that concessions of mineral rights should not be given to a mining company in the Union of South Africa without the consent of Seretse and Tshekedi Khama.

Commander Noble replied that no representations had been received except for those forwarded to him by Mr. Brockway. He said he would ask the High Commissioner for a report.

### Co-operation refused

Mr. Noble's letter of June 27 admits that although "There is general agreement in the tribe that mineral development should be allowed," it is the case that "Some of the tribe, however, take the view that, although mineral development is desirable, the only persons in the tribe competent to authorise and to negotiate it are members of the House of Khama."

There was a kgotla held late in March on the question of mineral development, he said, which lasted for several days. "It was well attended and all points of view were thoroughly ventilated before the Native Authority, again in accordance with custom, took the decision on behalf of the tribe that negotiations for mineral development in the Reserve should proceed."

There is thus no claim that the kgotla approved the granting of mineral rights. It has been the policy of the vast majority of the Bamangwato tribe who support Seretse to refuse to co-operate with the Government until he has been allowed to return.

This is the first public revelation of the extent of the powers given by the British Government to Rasebolai, and indicates that he has the power to act for the tribe, and apparently even in opposition to the tribe, on the basis of British-granted authority, which has no source from the Bamangwato people themselves.



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# BOOKS

## EUROPE IN THE WORLD

Reviews by Geoffrey Carnall

*East and West*, by S. Radhakrishnan. Allen and Unwin, London, 10s. 6d.  
*The Colour Curtain*, by Richard Wright. Dennis Dobson, London, 12s. 6d.

HOW do Asian people view the domination of the world by Europe over the last three or four centuries? The general perspective in which this domination is seen has become more familiar to British readers through the writings of men like Arnold Toynbee and K. M. Panikkar.

Professor Radhakrishnan's Beatty Memorial Lectures may be taken as another attempt to further this understanding. They are a brief summary of the contribution of Asia and Europe to the growth of human wisdom, and European achievements are reduced to their just proportions.

The book strikes one as rather meagre, partly because Professor Radhakrishnan is temperamentally remote from the passions that torment mankind in every age. Since the wisdom he outlines was developed in order to come to terms with these passions, this criticism is perhaps a serious one.

It is certainly not a criticism, however, that it can be levelled at *THE COLOUR CURTAIN*. The emotions which have been produced by European domination are not much understood in Britain, and it is for this reason that Richard Wright's book ought to be widely read.

Richard Wright is unusually well fitted to interpret the feelings of the nations which are now emerging from colonial subjection. He is an American Negro—a member of a group which belongs to the West, but holds a socially inferior position in it.

He went to Bandung at the time of the Asian-African conference, and *THE COLOUR CURTAIN* is a personal record of what he saw and heard.

He was above all impressed by what he describes as the "ground swell of racial and religious feeling" that he detected there. And this book conveys this "ground swell" with great vividness, partly, I suspect, because he was carried away by it himself.

He is alarmed at the bitterness and real hatred that made itself felt in the Bandung conference. But such bitterness, as Richard Wright well understands, is the natural and inevitable consequence of centuries of domination.

It is no use a Westerner's saying that he has given up his belief in white supremacy. "Con-

trite words," says Wright, "cannot now stop profound processes which white men set in motion on this earth some four hundred years ago; four hundred years is a long time, time enough for habits, reactions, to be converted into culture, tradition, into a *raison d'être* for millions."

These profound processes may issue in new wars and tyrannies. Such evils could, however, be avoided if the West were capable of responding to the demand for racial equality.

But such response, Wright thinks, would mean a much lower standard of living for the West. It would require a "radical reconstruction of the social and economic systems of the Western world."

Richard Wright is uneasy about the intense hatreds, the hunger for strong leadership, and the fanatical religion that he found among the people at Bandung.

While he is right to be uneasy, it is worth pointing out that these things were also characteristic of people in Britain in the early Nineteenth Century.

Well-informed observers were justifiably frightened then, though what they feared did not happen. Because the evil day was put off in Britain, it does not mean that the evil day will be put off now—the problem is so much vaster.

Still, it can be done; and Richard Wright has helped to make the doing of it more possible.

### TWICE AS GOOD!

WE like this credit line from a Hampshire reader: "Herewith order form for two copies of *PEACE NEWS*. One copy each week to IG, Junior, and the other to IG, Senior. The necessity of two copies is due to reading pressure on *Peace News* because of the greatly improved political content of the paper."

There is no part of the world that is not suffering from a shortage of *PEACE NEWS*. Are you helping to alleviate the famine in your district? IFM

To star with Marilyn Monroe in "Bus Stop", a forthcoming film, is an American conscientious objector, Don Murray. As a CO he did two years alternative work in refugee camps in Europe.

Ethical, biological, religious and humanitarian aspects are dealt with in a booklet by Margaret R. Kent, LL.D. on "Some implications of Vegetarianism." Priced 4d., it is obtainable from the Friends Vegetarian Society, 108 Bishops Rd., Chelmsford Essex. Essex.

## In defence of nationalism

"NATIONALISM is one of the main causes of war. Nationalism is out of date."

We should all be internationalists now—citizens of the world." Such statements as these have become quite common today, and indeed in some quarters are almost on the point of becoming slogans.

Usually they are the pronouncements of individuals, made either on the platform or in newspaper articles, belonging to nations which either have never had their right to nationhood challenged, or else have had that right established and recognised for so many centuries that it has long ago ceased to be threatened.

### WAR, NATIONALISM, & IMPERIALISM

With regard to, "Nationalism is the main cause of war," it does not seem to occur to champions of this view that it is not nationalism but imperialism which causes war; the lust for the conquest and possession of other people's territory, with its natural advantages and raw materials.

Genuine nationalism does not necessarily, and certainly should not, lead to imperialism, but is the answer to imperialism, a check on it. Nationalism may be said the only check on it.

If it were not for nationalism we should

have all the big powerful imperialist States seizing all the smaller or weaker nations of the world, destroying their native cultures and exploiting them economically.

Had it not been for the nationalist spirit there would have been today no Ireland, no Finland, no Sweden, no Switzerland and so on; the world would have been poorer without their distinctive cultures and political systems.

Militant nationalism, then, is the answer to, and check on, militaristic imperialism with all the evils imperialism brings with it, both moral and material.

Nationalism is the spirit and force that acts as a moral challenge to all the evils inherent in imperialism: the lust for power and domination, the greed for material enrichment even at the cost of bringing starvation and impoverishment to the rightful owners of a territory, the tyranny of superior physical might which would enslave a weaker people to its will, denying them every kind of freedom, and robbing them of their distinctive culture and their industries.

Nationalism, then, is the people's defence against enslavement and robbery—robbery of its material, intellectual and spiritual possessions. It stands for freedom and respect for other people's right to their own culture and territory.

It should therefore be our special responsibility to see that our nationalism really is of that highest and noblest type, free from the taint of that selfish monopolist spirit that wants national freedom for our own people while ready to deny it to others, as is the case with imperialist States. At that point it is in danger of becoming a cause of war because it then ceases to be true nationalism and degenerates into the first stage of imperialism.

Genuine nationalism stands for the principle of nationhood: the right of every nation to its nationhood, to national freedom whether its people are white-skinned or black-skinned.

### ALL FOR PEACE

Because as a rule a nation can best preserve and develop its native culture and political system when peace reigns—its spiritual and physical life and energies not having to be diverted into defence—it is in the interest of nationalism to avoid war, not to provoke or cause it.

It is the violation of nationalism by imperialist aggression that causes war.

Nationalism by its very nature is all for peace. It engages in defensive war because it feels it must defend its people's freedom:

### YOUTH'S VIEWPOINT

## Calling all youth!

By ERIC GREEN

"ABOVE the upturned faces of the broken-hearted men and women, rose the calm, set features of Garibaldi, lit up with that serene and simple regard of fortitude and faith which gave him power to lead the feeble multitudes of mortal men . . . The sonorous, thrilling voice was heard almost to the outskirts of the vast crowd:

"I am going out from Rome . . . I offer neither pay, nor provisions, nor quarters; I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles and death. Let him who loves his country in his heart and not with his lips only, follow me."

This excerpt from Garibaldi's defence of the Roman Republic serves to portray the fearless crusading faith which fears no consequences, the faith for which I would ask in this call to youth.

The youth of today can be the pioneers of a new world, and a new order. In this time of tension the task before us is no easy one and to those who engage in this work it may be costly to the highest degree.

Even so can we, dare we, shirk from the task? Let me hear the clamour of the youthful voices of students in the arts, the sciences, the humanities; and the voices, too, of those in youth organisations, religious and political, raised against this popular philosophy of violence, hatred, lying, and totalitarianism.

### CALL FOR COURAGE

Let us with one accord carry round the world our message of brotherhood and non-violent revolution.

Let the youth in Russia, America, Kenya, South Africa, China, etc., know that we are one with them in desiring peace and prosperity for all peoples of the world whatever their colour or creed.

Let us take as our prophets and teachers men of true insight and abundant courage such as Tolstoy of Russia, Gandhi of India, Keir Hardie and George Lansbury of England, Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan, Pastor Niemöller of Germany, Albert Schweitzer, Michael Scott and Father Huddleston of Africa. We have so much to learn from all these men, and others.

To you then comes this call to renounce the methods of violence, to break with prejudice, hatred, and self-righteousness, and from there to found new relationships of mutual understanding and accommodation. This is not a call without a cost, for you will discover that the way of non-violence calls for courage of the highest degree.

You will be one of those many people who are even now carrying this message into all strata of society, into politics, and into all types of groups and movements.

Here is the same man's approach to peace.

By FRIEDA LE PLA

but it is the invading nation that causes the war, by its violation of the principle of nationalism.

This is not to say that nationalism need or should resort to military defence of either its territory or its ideals. War is not the best nor the most effective way of propagating or winning adherence to an ideal, nor even of defending the nation and its territory.

Experience by different nations at different times has proved (as for instance Hungary in the last century, and India and Ireland soon afterwards) that non-military methods can be far more effective, and their results far more permanent.

These methods of campaigning include non-co-operation with the occupying nation, boycott, civil disobedience, strikes of every kind, and the setting-up of native institutions—Parliament, police, law courts, etc.

These are methods calling for real heroism, the spirit of adventure and daring, endurance, self-sacrifice and close national unity.

Every single one of a nation's sons and daughters are called on to take a noble and responsible part.

### NATIONALISM & INTERNATIONALISM

We come now to the argument that nationalism is out of date and should be discarded for internationalism and world citizenship. Some of our internationalists are apt to pride themselves on having made a great moral advance in repudiating allegiance to their own nation, and are, therefore, scornful of nationalism, and of those, who persist in calling themselves nationalists.

It has evidently not occurred to them that one might as well argue that before one can become a loyal citizen of one's nation one must discard one's family.

If there can be "narrow nationalism," so there can also be "narrow familyism" which can exclude larger claims. But few people would dream of saying that, because family devotion can be exclusive of wider loyalties therefore families should be abolished.

Just as the family is the unit of the nation, so is the nation the unit of the world life, international life; and just as a nation would be very much the poorer without its families, so would the world be much the poorer without its separate nations with all the richness and variety in national characteristics, culture, traditions, and so on.

Nationality is to the nation what personality is to the individual. Just as individual personality, whether manifesting through dark skin or white skin, cannot develop along its own natural, God-appointed lines, but is fettered and cramped in mind and soul when enslaved by the domination of some other person, so the individual nation cannot develop—either culturally, socially, or politically—

★ ON PAGE FIVE

Will you, dare you, unite with us in this great endeavour?

To all the youth in every land,  
Depart from arms and with us stand  
For justice, brotherhood, and peace.

Non-violence is our Gospel,  
Even if prison chains, and hatred's hell  
Should try the brave disciple.

To youth comes the challenge.

Love your enemies, and quit revenge,  
Arise! Tomorrow is in your hand.

## A child's life of Gandhi

The obstinate rich man

Last week we read how Gandhi suffered many injustices in South Africa, and how in order to make life better for thousands of oppressed Indians he formed a "political party" which he called the "Natal Indian Congress."

ONE of the most important things to consider was the question of money. A political party requires a lot of money to keep it going. The leaders must travel here and there, books and leaflets must be printed and distributed, halls must be hired when speeches have to be made, and so on.

Gandhi had to insist on each member paying at least five shillings as a monthly subscription.

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

scription. He told the rich people to give as much more as they could. He himself gave twenty shillings a month.

But the people were lazy when it came to giving money. They were very glad to have leaders who fought for them, but they seemed to think that all the work could be done without money. That is the way with many people in this world.

One day Gandhi and some of his fellow-workers went on a tour to some of the out-of-the-way villages inhabited by Indians. They wanted to make even the most ignorant people understand that all must unite in the fight against injustice and tyranny.

GANDHI and his friends were invited to spend the night at the house of a rich Indian who was already a member of their party. They knew that if this man gave a big sum to the Congress fund, other people would be living round him would want to imitate him and do the same.

The Congress was now badly in need of funds to carry on its good work, and they hoped that the rich man would give at least six pounds.

When they arrived at the rich man's house they found a grand feast waiting for them. Gandhi thought it best to get the money instead over before eating, and he was greatly disappointed when he found that all the rich man intended was three pounds instead of six.

He tried to persuade him to give more, but the rich man would not listen. He was not mean, but just obstinate. He refused to give more than three pounds and began ordering refreshments to his guests.

THIS was indeed an awkward situation. Gandhi knew that if he let the rich man give only three pounds, other rich people, too, would want to give only three, or even less. They would think: "Why should we give more than that man who is so rich?"

So Gandhi and his friends politely refused to take any food until six pounds had been given. They were dreadfully hungry and it was awful to have to sit and talk only a good meal was waiting for them.

Neither side would give in and the argument went on all night. Just at day-break the host yielded at last. Then they all ate their fill.

This incident was much talked about and it made people see that Gandhi was not to be trifled with. After that people paid up their subscriptions more promptly.

NEXT WEEK: The Green Pamphlet.

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# GOLD COAST ELECTIONS

the Ashanti Sentinel, had to close down last year because of repeated attacks upon its office. There have been stories of dynamiting of houses, of shootings and knifings.

Many well-known CPP members had left Kumasi, seeking asylum in Accra. None of the party leaders dared go near Kumasi. The CPP had not held a political rally there since the last General Election.

Last Sunday week they decided to do so. This was to be the day of political liberation, when the people would come into the open again and reveal their sympathies. The Prince of Wales Park, the biggest public place in Kumasi, was booked; an announcement was made in the Evening News.

Friends in Accra warned us not to go. "It will be dangerous," they said. "In any case you must not go by road; there will be ambushes." We laughed.

We set off by road in the early morning, across the Accra plain, up between the hills and through the thick rain-forest belt. It was light by the time we came to Ashanti.

At Kantanso, about 52 miles from Kumasi, we found the road blocked with vehicles: red, white and green CPP vans, private cars, many trucks (the native buses in which people squat on tight rows of hard, wooden planks), all packed with people. The road was barricaded like a frontier post; the police halted all traffic.

I got out and walked forward. "What's going on?" I demanded as officiously as possible. The policeman in charge paused a moment, thinking. We were Europeans. "All right. Bring your car through," he said. Trucks and cars backed and negotiated to let us through.

"You go to Kumasi for all of us," shouted a woman in a truck. But for the rest there were silent, disappointed faces.

We had to pass five more police blocks before we reached Kumasi. At every village people waited for transport to get them to the rally. None was allowed.

## RALLY AT KUMASI

But it did not matter. The people of Kumasi itself turned out. The Prince of Wales Park is a sort of broad hollow 300 yards or so long at each side.

When we got there, about 9 o'clock, it was filled. The park itself was a seething mass. Hundreds were dressed in red, white and green costumes. CPP banners fluttered everywhere.

Again there was music, dancing, cheering, shouts of "Free-dom!"

Thousands more people were terraced along a steep grassy bank which rises to the main road. At every vantage point, even outside the park up to 500 yards from the little platform, people were sitting waiting. Some, we learned, had been there all night.

The atmosphere was that of a festival. A drum pulsed gently and people danced. Elsewhere little processions moved backward and forward, shouting and laughing.

A huge red cockerel mounted on a truck wriggled slowly through the crowd. From the platform cries of "Free-dom!" rang out and tens of thousands of hands roared in the air. "Free-dom! Free-dom!" a sustained roar.

You could not have got all this into Wembley Stadium or any of the great meeting places in England.

The sun beat down fiercely. The people danced, sang and were happy. Men and women and children. Colourful African dresses and Kente cloths. It was the gayest politics one could imagine.

Why all the fuss? we thought. Why all these police precautions? Why the warnings? Why the two years silence? Why the steel-helmeted police mingling with the crowd, batons in hand?

Round about 10 o'clock we knew.

Suddenly there was a long, low explosion

and from a green slope opposite us and just outside the park an ugly cloud of greyish smoke rose in the air.

One saw the distant shapes of scurrying people. Soon a police van began to climb the hill towards the settling, drifting smoke.

There was a momentary silence. The people in the park paused, looked, then went on with their business.

Shortly afterwards, in another direction, there was another explosion and a cloud of smoke rose. We saw debris floating, leisurely it seemed, in the air and slowly descend again.

More police vans. More running. In the park hardly a ripple disturbed the crowd.

So this was the terrorism which for months had made Kumasi a gangster town: dynamite instead of ideas; the gun, the knife and the bludgeon instead of principles. One felt a chill in the spine.

There were no more explosions, but all day skirmishes took place at the outskirts of the park as small gangs of hooligans, armed with knives, stones and bottles were driven off and chased by the police.

We watched the African police moving discreetly about. We saw ourselves three men arrested with guns in their pockets, one of whom had infiltrated himself to right in front of the platform.

## CALMNESS

We saw the driver of a CPP van who had been shot at, being helped away with a cloth clutched to his head and his shirt soaked with blood.

We met and talked with a man whose car had been ambushed and shot up the night before. We met another man, with ten bullet scars on his face and body who now believes he is divinely protected.

We met a Member of the Legislative Assembly who had been knifed in the head when attending a funeral in his constituency; and of those who had rushed to his aid and also been injured one had died.

Such violence had become commonplace. If there had been occasional reprisals, it was understandable. But the people in the park refused to be provoked; their calm indifference to what was going on around was amazing.

Occasionally one saw a knot of policemen chasing a provocateur; some of the crowd would turn and watch and, when he was caught, give a brief cheer. But that was all.

I have no evidence to connect any of this violence with the NLM. I merely report what we saw. It was certainly not the work of the CPP whose legitimate strength was manifest to all in its vast rally.

But we decided to leave early—at 4 p.m.—so as to be out of Ashanti before nightfall and we were relieved to observe so many police along the road to the "frontier."

That evening a CPP truck going out of Kumasi was fired on; one man died, two others were seriously injured. Another CPP lorry was set on fire. A third was fired at and two people injured. Two houses were dynamited.

## INDEPENDENCE

Police arrived at another house in time to seize dynamite and prevent an explosion.

I cannot connect these things with the NLM. I only report it. I may not suggest where men in Ashanti get explosives from; I only report it.

I also report that in village after village we passed through in Ashanti that Sunday, people came out of their houses and lined the roads to display CPP flags and cheer.

As we went home we thought it our duty to raise our hands in greeting out of our car. The response was terrific. Our journey was like a triumphal procession. This was the day when the CPP came back to Ashanti.

Everyone expects some terrorism on election day. And a few sufficiently ruthless men can exercise great influence. But I shall be very surprised if the CPP does not win a very clear victory.

I shall be very surprised if they do not win both seats in Kumasi, the town the NLM has claimed for its headquarters.

Afterwards there must be no more nonsense about delaying independence. And the African Government must be free to deal with the minority political gangsterism which soils this country of magnificent popular achievement.

## KENYA

\* FROM PAGE ONE

living, we would welcome a visit of a Parliamentary delegation, such as that of 1953-54, and we would give its members every assistance within our power."

An accompanying statement from the Christian Council of Kenya stated that because of its international constitution it does not enter into political controversy, and therefore such responsibilities have been entrusted to a group of church leaders.

It is understood that some of these leaders fear that Kenya affairs are becoming too much the subject of party politics in Britain, and therefore favour an all-party delegation.

Eileen Fletcher, whose articles in Peace News on conditions in Kenya are continuing to stir people in Britain, and arouse serious discussion within the Society of Friends, of which she is a member, has been sent "a personal message of encouragement" from the Race Relations Committee of the Society of Friends.

The Committee at its meeting in London on July 5 adopted a minute which expressed the Committee's "deep sympathy with Eileen Fletcher and our concern for the underlying objects which she has at heart."

Eileen Fletcher's own Meeting, Guildford Preparative Meeting, last month sent a Minute to her which stated that though they were conscious of "great ignorance in the matters" they were "moved to express to Eileen our love, gratitude and admiration and our deeply felt desire that she shall be upheld and guided in her difficult undertaking."

# PACIFISM AND THE POLICE

If the pacifist agrees that a police force is necessary to restrain criminals, then surely they must also agree that a military force is necessary to restrain aggressor nations.

—Question asked at Caxton Hall, June 30, 1956.

THIS question is one of the most common of those put to pacifists. Whether it be from an Oxford Don, or from the ordinary "man-in-the-street," there is in it the basic assumption that there are aggressor nations to be equated with criminals, and defender nations to be equated with police.

In fact there is no analogy here at all. Though there is seldom very much doubt as to the commission of a crime, and the nature of the crime, there may be considerable doubt as to the commission of aggression by any one nation.

For instance during the Boer War there was no question in the minds of the Boers themselves, and some others, that Britain was the aggressor, and as such to be prevented by war from further aggression.

Many British people would not have agreed that this was the case, and here lies the whole difference between the police force and military force.

In this situation, as in all war situations, there is no opportunity to bring the "accused" to trial; the force must be used first, and victory will go to the strongest, not necessarily to the alleged non-aggressor.

It is the business of the police force to act in exactly the opposite way to this. It is never the business of the policeman to punish, nor is he allowed to operate, except against such individuals as he has reason to believe are themselves personally responsible for breaking the law.

His action is always against individuals on behalf of the community, and the community is on his side. In fact the power of the police force is due, not to any arms the policeman may carry, but to the knowledge that the community supports him. It is obvious that the sanction behind law and order is not that of the physical degree of force which the policeman exercises, but the general acceptance of the law by citizens, their approval of the whole process of justice, and their acquiescence in the method of punishment used.

Alterations to the law, and to the penal system, have taken place ultimately when there is no longer that acquiescence. It is to be hoped that someday the community will refuse to acquiesce in the use of war.

For in war there is an exactly opposite

situation; it is the community that suffers the penalty; millions of people who have committed no crimes at all are killed, blinded, burned and wounded while the "criminal," if the label can be put upon one side more than upon the other, goes untouched.

Until the second world war there was never any question of a trial after a war was over. Victory was the judge, might of arms the jury.

It is true there was some talk of "hanging the Kaiser" but no real intention, and certainly the subsequent history of the events which led to that war would have required a very strongly biased judge and jury to convict the Kaiser alone for the responsibility of those four years of slaughter.

All kinds of force, naturally, are open to abuse, and moreover there are bad laws which perhaps would never have been altered if there had not been some brave enough to break them and stand their trial for doing so. There are sometimes dishonest and violent policemen, and occasionally the innocent are wrongly convicted.

But there is still no comparison with a method which condemns innocent and guilty alike to wholesale massacre; indeed, today when the ultimate deterrent to the possible crime of "aggression" is to be the destruction of civilisation, and possibly the whole human race, it is all the more important to distinguish clearly between military action and police action.

The one is a restraint upon the guilty after guilt has been established; the other is the indiscriminate slaughter of the innocent. The police force may some day be abolished; war should be abolished now.

Many soldiers were among the audience which listened attentively to Stuart Morris and Ian Dixon in Salisbury market square during an Objective Peace demonstration (which included a poster parade and "Any Questions" meeting) organised by the Pledge Union last Saturday. Thousands of leaflets had been distributed in this important military centre by local pacifists before the event. Fifty Peace News were sold.

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## PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday July 15, 1956

King's Walgh House Church, Binney St., W.1.

(Near Bond St. Tube)

Discourse by: Rev. G. P. T. Paget King

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